

THE *Nation*

September 6, 1952

World Oil Cartel

New Facts on the Greatest of All Combines

BY BARROW LYONS

✱

Moscow Hears New Voices

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

✱

The New Party Chairmen

BY ELMER GERTZ and NATHAN PERLMUTTER

✱

Hemingway's Latest Reviewed by Harvey Breit

SEP 19 1952

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WHEN 37,500 Cincinnatians turned their video sets last February 9 to a program called "What's Your Answer?" they were treated to an admirably impartial discussion of whether universal military training should be adopted in this country. P. Lincoln Mitchell, Republican leader from Hamilton County, held forth on the merits of U. M. T. Ellsworth Smith, a Unitarian minister, presented some excellent arguments against it. The other participants were James Maxwell, author, and Grant Cannon, executive of the *Farm Quarterly*. It was all interesting and good, but the exciting thing was that it was sponsored by the Cincinnati C. I. O. and marked a new stage in labor's public-relations activities.

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kept its promise to invite vigorous opponents of labor unions to present their views. J. Mack Swigert, of the rock-ribbed legal firm of Taft, Stettinius, and Hollister, was one who took the rostrum. Attorney Cornelius Petzhold got in some blows against the steelworkers' union, which he has long abominated.

Other men known for their opposition to labor unions were asked to cut loose on such topics as "Should Labor Unions Be in Politics?" "Academic Freedom, Yes or No?" and "Should There Be Farm Price Supports?" Equally forthright statements in defense of unions were made by local C. I. O. officers and supporters—among them James C. Paradise, local president of the Civil Liberties Union, Morse Johnson, liberal attorney, and Walter T. Grainger, president of the C. I. O. Council.

During the same period Cincinnatians began to come across advertisements in the local press depicting the role of the C. I. O. in the community. They listened to spot radio announcements telling how the C. I. O. helps the worker and his family. The local papers featured C. I. O. contributions to the polio fund. Cincinnati columnists used releases about civil-rights conventions, labor forums, and video programs. The *Times-Star* ran pictures of labor leaders, not announcing a strike but urging closing ranks to combat communism. The C. I. O. had an exhibit in the Public Library showing the influence of 30,000 unionists on the city's life.

CINCINNATI squats on the fringes of Southern prejudice and Northern dogmatism. With a normal Republican majority of 45,000 votes, its gods are big business and the status quo. Small wonder that it met the C. I. O.'s ground-breaking project with hostility and fear or that the program was delayed for months by the reluctance of advertising agencies and TV stations to undertake the job. Two agencies rejected the C. I. O.'s proposition before the Walter F. Haehnle firm accepted the \$13,000 contract.

WCPO-TV, a Scripps-Howard station, offered to take the series from 7:30 to 8:00 a. m.—an obviously im-

possible time. After days of seesawing the Crosley-owned WLW-TV rejected it on the ground that it would cost them more in terms of public relations than they would gain. The C. I. O. leaders were in despair, for the video series was the core of the campaign. Finally Walter Haehnle, Republican-around-town in good standing, lunched with a friend of Hulbert Taft, owner of both the *Times-Star* and Station WKRC-TV. It worked. The friend spoke to Taft, and the C. I. O. had a television show.

WHILE Cincinnati was not noticeably converted to labor's side, observers credit the campaign with helping Joseph White, local steel-union president, to win nomination to the Ohio legislature in the Democratic primary. White, who led a field of nine, had appeared on one of the TV shows. It may also be pointed out that Hamilton County outstripped all other Ohio localities in voting to send Jack Kroll, chairman of the C. I. O.-P. A. C., as delegate to the Democratic convention.

This experiment in how to win friends and influence voters taught labor several vital lessons. First, by acquiring an articulate voice a union increases the loyalty of its members and stimulates a sense of identification with labor among liberals. Second, newspapers will print labor news of community interest if they are approached in the right way. Finally, a community-service program can arouse the type of sympathy that strengthens labor at the polls. A skilful, hard-hitting public-relations campaign on the local level may well convince the fence-sitter that the C. I. O. is as neighborly and beneficial as the Red Cross or the Community Chest.

Perhaps the most gratifying comment was made by Haehnle. "I took the advertising contract," he said, "mainly out of curiosity. I'm still a Republican, but the regular business prejudice I held regarding labor has mostly vanished. If there's one thing I've learned, it's that labor definitely deserves to be heard and sometimes heeded."

MELVIN J. BRISK

[The author is a newspaperman who was on the staff of the Cincinnati Post during the campaign he describes.]

THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

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The Shape of Things

The Champs in the Garden

Both the General and the Governor—Eisenhower and Stevenson—submitted last week to the ordeal of making a speech to an American Legion convention; and we can't think of a better, or more grueling, test of a man's fitness to be President of the United States. Each performed according to his lights, his personality, and his party affiliations. Each was dignified and forthright. But the General for all his forthrightness managed to confine himself to generalities which, whatever they may mean to him, were all too palatable to professional patriots on a spree. On the other hand, the Governor, even in his quips, attacked professional patriots in general and the Legion in particular. He paid his respects to "groups who seek to identify their special interests with the general welfare" and drove this reference home by announcing that he would resist the unjust demands of veterans as vigorously as the demands of other special pleaders.

The effect of his speech on one Republican newspaper was interesting. We refer to an editorial in the *New York Herald Tribune* which, all in all, was the most eloquent tribute we have seen to Stevenson's performance, though it was not meant that way. The editorial said that the speech was fine, well delivered, eloquent, and witty. It then proceeded, by a finespun logic, to prove that the performance showed only that Stevenson was a subtle and skilful talker, and ended up with the self-comforting conclusion that what this country really needs is a man of action like Eisenhower. We had never thought to come upon a newspaper editor arguing solemnly that words are merely words; but apparently the *Herald Tribune* could find no other way—and we admit it was a tough assignment—of dismissing a speech which also happened to be as authentic and well-placed a bit of action as we have seen in a long time.

Lament of the Lover

Americans who subscribe to the theory that we ought to make partner of the devil, when necessary, should listen these days to the Falangist Radio. As soon as Madrid realized that our government was disinclined to pay the exorbitant price Franco was asking for the use of Spanish bases, all "love" for America disappeared.

The radio and press are again using the language of the happy Hitler days; *Arriba*, it will be remembered, longed for the hour "when the skyscrapers of New York would receive the full force of the glorious German aviation." Today the building they would most like to see blown to pieces is the office of the *New York Times*, "that nest of Free Masons and Jews," as a broadcast called it, which in a recent editorial had denounced, though in courteous terms, Franco's blackmail. It is to win such an "ally" that we are risking the esteem of France and Britain.

The negotiations in Madrid are certainly not going well. Leaving aside moral and political considerations, nothing else could have been expected in view of the fundamental contradiction of purposes. The United States would be ready to pay a limited price for a limited privilege—the use of the Spanish bases. Franco wants an unlimited outlay of money for an unlimited purpose: to bolster and restore the economy of Spain, which his regime has wrecked.

Franco's "Socialist Party"

Although negotiations in Madrid are snagged on this issue, some persons in the State Department have apparently decided to save the Franco regime at any cost. Indalecio Prieto, the right-wing Socialist leader, once an enthusiastic supporter of the United States but now, because of our pro-Franco policy, a bitter critic, has just published a sensational statement accusing American diplomacy of intriguing inside Spain "for the creation of a Socialist Party under the orders of Franco." "The United States," said Prieto, "needs to justify its policy in Spain by pretending that things are changing in a democratic direction and that, besides the Falangist Party, there is a Socialist Party, and others." Prieto reports instances of his Socialist friends inside Spain having been "approached" with this suggestion. "We are not prepared," said Prieto, "either to participate in that farce or to tolerate it."

The Legion and Civil Liberties

Not long after General Eisenhower praised the American Legion for fighting communism "without recklessly injuring the reputations of innocent people," the Legion unanimously adopted a resolution calling on the House

• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS

- The Shape of Things 181
A New Deal for the Middle East
by Freda Kirchwey 183

ARTICLES

- Moscow Hears New Voices
by J. Alvarez del Vayo 185
World Oil Cartel by Barrow Lyons 187
The New Party Chairmen
Stevenson's Choice by Elmer Gertz 189
Eisenhower's Choice by Nathan Perlmutter 191
Report on Tunis—II by Alexander Werth 192

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

- Hemingway's "Old Man" by Harvey Breit 194
"What Once They Were"
by Joseph Wood Krutch 195
Socialism in America by Richard Hofstadter 196
Appearance on Its Head by Harvey Swados 197
Music by B. H. Haggin 198

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS 199

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 418 by Frank W. Lewis opposite 200

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Committee on Un-American Activities, the Justice Department, and the Subversive Activities Control Board to investigate "the questionable record of subversive activities of the American Civil Liberties Union . . . to ascertain whether or not the A. C. L. U. may be properly classified as a Communist or Communist-front organization." The resolution was sponsored by the Illinois department of the Legion, which had been vastly annoyed by the effective campaign that the Chicago chapter of the A. C. L. U. had organized against the Broyles bill (subsequently vetoed by Governor Stevenson). The Legion was also annoyed by the A. C. L. U.'s condemnation of the action of a Kansas post which had tried to force cancellation of a talk by Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam.

We are not surprised at the Legion's resolution; we are surprised, however, that General Eisenhower has chosen to ignore it in the face of his earlier commendation of its authors. To the Washington authorities we would suggest that the American Legion, not the A. C. L. U., be investigated. Throughout its history, the country's largest veterans' organization has done little to protect and a great deal to undermine those constitutional freedoms which the A. C. L. U. had defended more consistently and effectively than any other organization.

Defense of Democracy

Israel has formally applied for its share of the \$49,000,000 in military aid which the Military Security Program for 1952 permits the President to allocate to Israel and the Arab states. But the President has apparently been advised to do nothing about the request until the projected Middle East Command becomes a reality. This is bad advice in both the short and the long view. Peace in the Middle East is not now threatened so seriously from outside as from within. Cairo, Damascus, and Bagdad still shout for a second round against Israel; and it must be said, in all fairness, that the Moslem Brotherhood is more belligerent than the Communist fraternity.

In the longer perspective, *The Nation* has always maintained that lasting peace must be based on the spread of the democratic idea and not on military bases. Israel is a supreme example of the power of the democratic idea in an area which is only beginning the long struggle toward its realization. If only as precept, Israel must be encouraged, nurtured, enabled to protect itself. Israel has consistently justified our help in the past; the President, secure in the knowledge that it will do so again, should grant the requested military aid at once.

Visas and the Vatican

When Albert Moravia, the Italian author, was informed last May that the Sacred Congregation of the Holy Office—once known as the Inquisition—had placed his works on the Index of forbidden books, his only

comment was, "I am in good company, since Benedetto Croce, Gabriele d'Annunzio, Luigi Pirandello, and Giovanni Boccaccio have also appeared in the Index." Not to speak of Balzac, Defoe, Dumas (father and son), Anatole France, Heine, Hugo, Georges Sand, Stendhal, Zola, Kant, Maeterlinck, Maimonides, Spinoza, Voltaire, Rousseau, John Stuart Mill, Montaigne, and Edward Gibbon, all of whom are included in the 5,000 names which appear in the last edition (1940).

Moravia and André Gide appear to have incurred the displeasure of the Vatican as leading exponents of neo-realism, as Victor Hugo once did with "Les Misérables." This censorship concerns practicing Catholics, and can therefore be argued to be of no concern to non-Catholic America. But when, three months after Moravia appears in the Index, the State Department, by administrative decree and without stating any reason, denies him a visa, the matter appears in a different light. We are entitled to ask whether the State Department has decided to turn to the Vatican for advice on who shall be permitted, and who shall not be permitted, to visit this country.

McCarran Semantics

The McCarran subcommittee has reached the point where it will not play fair even with cooperative witnesses. Last week the subcommittee charged the Radio Writers' Guild with being dominated by pro-Communists, largely on evidence given by Welbourn E. Kelley, one of the guild's founders. But now Kelley complains publicly that he used the term "pro-Communist" in his testimony only under pressure from the subcommittee; he had originally spoken of "radicals" or "left-wingers." "I cannot say of my own knowledge that any member of the guild is a Communist," Mr. Kelley insists.

The subcommittee's defense against Mr. Kelley's complaint is remarkable. Mr. Kelley had been told, while he was testifying, that his interrogators were interested in investigating Communists and nobody else. "Communists and communism are terms that have definite meaning," explained Donald D. Connors, Jr., a subcommittee investigator, "whereas the terms left-winger or radical are only relative terms which do not mean the same thing to all people." One could wish that Mr. Connors's punctilious attitude toward words were shared by all investigating bodies, including the one for which he works. For the subcommittee, in its report on the guild, does not use the word Communist but "pro-Communist." What is a "pro-Communist?" To Senator McCarthy, it is anyone who supported General Marshall's policy in the Far East. To Representative Rankin, it is a white man who tips his hat to a Negro woman. And to the McCarran subcommittee, apparently, it is anyone it does not like but in whose pockets it fails to find a party membership card.

September 6, 1952

Significant Appointment

President Truman and Secretary of the Interior Oscar Chapman are to be congratulated, the first for having appointed, the second for having recommended, Dr. Joseph D. Lohman as chairman of the National Capital Planning Commission in the District of Columbia. A new chapter should now begin in the long struggle to end discrimination in the District. Dr. Lohman served as secretary and director of research for the National Committee on Segregation in the Nation's Capital, which in November, 1948, issued the first comprehensive report on segregation in Washington. Although some progress has been made in eliminating segregation since then, most of the committee's recommendations have yet to be adopted. For instance, Mr. Chapman has been trying to get the District Recreation Board to end segregation on city playgrounds. With such a forthright opponent of segregation as Dr. Lohman on the planning commission, the campaign to end discrimination in Washington should be greatly advanced. Incidentally, Dr. Lohman was named chairman of the Illinois Board of Pardons and Parole by Governor Adlai E. Stevenson and continues to advise the Governor on human relations and community problems. The President could not have made a more admirable appointment.

A New Deal for the Middle East

BY FRED KIRCHWEY

THERE is a profound irony in the publication of the oil-cartel report discussed in this issue by Barrow Lyons. Without question the facts it reveals, should be public property, since they explain the anatomy and workings of the infinitely complex mechanism that controls the world's oil supply. This mechanism can be used for the benefit of the people, here and everywhere, only if they understand and find some way to direct it. Consequently the Administration will doubtless win credit now and votes in November by releasing the report at the start of the Presidential campaign.

But the irony remains. For President Truman's refusal to permit publication of the report when the Federal Trade Commission completed it two years ago was related directly to the needs of the Administration's foreign policy, which is concerned with expanding this country's share in the development of essential raw materials—either in cooperation with our allies or, when convenient, in competition with them. The success of the oil companies in forcing their way to a dominating position in the cartel has been actively encouraged by the State Department since long before World War II. And

when President Truman suppressed the report two years ago he did so precisely in order to avoid disturbing the uneasy relationships that held the world oil empire together. By unveiling it now, at the request of Senator Sparkman, the Administration has alarmed its European partners and stirred new suspicion and unrest in the oil-producing countries of the Middle East.

It cannot be supposed, for instance, that the report helped matters in Iran, appearing as it did just before the British and American ambassadors handed Dr. Mossadegh the joint note offering a new formula for settling the oil dispute. The Iranian Premier's sharp rejection of the offer may easily have been encouraged by Washington's disclosure of the international deals, interlocking directorates, influence over governments, price-fixing agreements, production controls, and other practices of the oil cartel. As the report clearly shows, the Anglo-Iranian Company had been linked with Royal Dutch Shell and American oil interests in a monster combine which eventually drew in all the important oil operations of the Middle East. This is economic imperialism on the grandest scale possible. For Mossadegh to accept the British-American proposal would be taken as a traitorous surrender by both the Communist left and the Nationalist right which threaten his overthrow.

His refusal, to be sure, leaves him suspended on the other horn of his terrible dilemma—the danger of total national bankruptcy and inability to meet the minimum needs of the people. If economic collapse forces Mossadegh from power, the Communist Tudeh Party will probably take over—with consequences disastrous to his own policy as well as the plans of the Western powers. Faced with these alternatives, the Premier has left the door open a thin crack. He has called both houses of the Iranian Parliament into special session presumably to indorse, and so share responsibility for, his decision.

This small loophole has led London and Washington to hope that a compromise may yet be found. They contend that their offer was a generous one, yielding the substance of Mossadegh's earlier demands: the United States would grant Iran a \$10,000,000 loan; Britain would withdraw the economic sanctions imposed a year ago and would buy the oil now in storage as soon as a price could be agreed upon and shipping arrangements completed. The note made no reference to nationalization, no demand that Iran accept British technicians. The disputed issue of compensation for the expropriated oil properties would be submitted to the International Court.

But reports from Tehran give little reason for optimism. Apart from the suspicion with which Iran's nationalists regard any suggestion of a deal with Britain and the oil cartel, specific criticisms have been directed at one particular sentence in the note. This proposes submitting the question of compensation to the International Court "having regard to the legal position of the

parties existing immediately prior to nationalization." The qualification is being taken by Iranians as implying a renewal of the British claim that nationalization contravened the agreement of 1933 extending the oil concession for sixty years. Whether or not the phrase was meant as an escape clause, it has provided a rallying point for opposition to the joint offer.

In any case Mossadegh must step warily. He may be better advised, given the present mood of his countrymen, to do business with the mysterious Mr. Jones than with Mr. Churchill and Mr. Truman. At least Mr. Jones is not known to be identified with Anglo-Iranian or any of its tie-ins.

A COMPARABLE situation is developing in Egypt, where General Naguib and Premier Aly Maher, representing moderate nationalist reform elements, are putting out tentative feelers to the West. They obviously hope to come to some agreement on arms, financial help, and defense before their control is challenged by the extremists. Here too, the West seems likely to lose its chance by failing to take advantage of Naguib's temporary hold on the popular imagination. Naguib is still a hero—the man who ousted the King and his corrupt entourage, who abolished titles, ordered a purge of parties and the army, and called for land reform. But the reforms are moving slowly, the purge so far has not amounted to much, and Naguib's position is threatened by the still powerful Wafd Party, which if it saw a chance would use the continued presence of British forces on the Canal as a weapon against the government.

There is no simple formula to meet the situation in Iran or Egypt; or in the neighboring areas whose wealth and strategic value invite foreign domination. The best one can hope is that the great powers may realize what they are up against before it is too late. The era of gunboats and punitive expeditions is past, at least in the Middle East. The era when pashas, kings, and premiers can be bought with any assurance that they will stay bought is almost over. Today nationalist leaders must be them treated with respect. Western diplomats may consider Mossadegh a wrong-headed, stubborn old man; dealt with on terms of equality and the forces behind they should remember that he is opposed in his own country by political forces which regard him as too soft to be trusted.

What the Western powers will have to do if they hope to maintain any part of their immense interests in the Moslem world is to give responsible national leaders the success they need to remain in power. This will require large sacrifices, made promptly and with generosity—no escape clause or haggling over old "rights." It will involve security risks, serious ones. But such sacrifices and risks are small compared with the losses the West will suffer if Iran becomes a dependency of Mos-

cow and Egypt crumbles into civil war and economic chaos. Then neither oil nor the Suez Canal will be available to Western defense on any terms.

The release of the FTC oil report was clumsily timed. As so often happens, the Administration thought about its nearby political interests and did not even consider

the effect of its action on events at a distance. But what the report told needed telling. Its impact in Tehran and London may have been rather jolting, but if the State Department and Foreign Office would take seriously the lesson implied in the facts it revealed, it could lead to a new deal for the Middle East.

Moscow Hears New Voices

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

THE announcement that the Soviet Communist Party will hold a general congress on October 5, with a projected change of the Politburo into a Praesidium of its Central Committee, and the publication of a new Five-Year Plan that will greatly increase the Soviet military and economic potential by 1955; the presence in Moscow of Communist China's Premier Chou En-lai, presaging very important decisions for the entire Far East; the new Russian note proposing an immediate Big Four meeting to discuss the whole German issue—these events have again shifted world attention toward Moscow. The first two cannot be accurately judged until after the party congress is held and the Chinese mission leaves Moscow. But meanwhile it is possible to analyze the meaning of the note, which is a concrete and revealing fact. Considered in the light of surrounding circumstances, it provides an indication of the present state of Russia's mind in relation to the West.

The general tone of the Russian note permits no doubt that Moscow is determined to deal with the German problem as a whole rather than piecemeal. Russia obviously views a limited exploration of the possibility of holding free elections in Germany as a diversionary maneuver, a "cover-up" to create an illusion of willingness to negotiate while proceeding as fast as possible with German rearmament. The Soviet answer does, it is true, include free elections as an item on the agenda of the suggested conference. But this question figures as point three of a four-point proposal, the first two being "the preparation of a peace treaty with Germany" and "the formation of an all-German government"—the subjects American diplomacy least wishes to consider during the period of ratification of the agreements of Bonn and Paris.

Not only the content of the Russian note but also its timing is worthy of attention. For the first time it has been the Russians who delayed longest in sending a reply. There were even occasional indications that Moscow doubted the value of continuing the diplomatic dialogue. Pietro Nenni, the Italian Socialist leader, concluded from his recent conversation with Stalin that the Kremlin had little hope of an agreement on Ger-

many as long as Washington continued to make West German rearmament one of its main objectives. However, Germany is so central an element in the general problem of war and peace that the Kremlin must have decided that a new demand for a Big Four conference, even if rejected by the Atlantic powers, would place Russia in a better position for the major diplomatic maneuver that has been in the air ever since Mr. Gromyko was assigned to London as ambassador.

During the six weeks of Russian silence the contractual agreements with Bonn were ratified by the American Congress and by the British Parliament. The speed with which they were approved—in the American Senate almost without discussion—confirmed the impression that American policy was opposed to any Big Four conference previous to the consummation of this effort. Washington had pushed through the basic measure for German rearmament without paying the least attention to Russian warnings.

Moscow might find some consolation in the growing repugnance of the French political parties and the French people to following this course. It could also reasonably rely on growing opposition in West Germany itself. But its past experience of French politics would surely suggest that French resistance to ratification could be broken by the play of Franco-American economic relations. And as for Bonn, those who talked with Chancellor Adenauer during his recent vacation in Switzerland found him confident that, however hard the task might be, he would in the end obtain ratification.

The NATO crisis has provided Moscow with better grounds for optimism. The picture of this crisis presented in two broadcasts by Howard K. Smith, penetrating CBS commentator, and published in *The Nation* of August 23 contrasted sharply with the blueprints drawn up at the Lisbon conference. The European press supplemented these reports with long accounts of the tensions resulting from General Ridgway's pressure for the acceptance of two years' military service and the refusal of the various governments to comply with his demands.

All this might have placed the Kremlin in the con-

September 6, 1952

fidant mood of some non-Russian opponents of American policy who reason as follows: (1) ratification by France and Bonn is still very doubtful, and (2) even if the treaties are ratified they will be worth little because the NATO crisis and the refusal of the peoples of Europe to fight another war will turn them into scraps of paper. Russia's affairs, however, are in the hands of a realist of the first magnitude. Stalin knows better than anybody else the distinction between propaganda and politics. He knows the meaning of a union between the military potential of Germany and the industrial capacity of the United States, even in case the other NATO members should continue to keep their combat forces on paper rather than in fighting trim. Besides, German rearmament is viewed in Moscow not only as providing a possible substitute for the divisions the other NATO members may fail to furnish. The Russians see it above all as part and parcel of the policy of "roll-back" which they believe is gaining ground in the United States at the expense of "containment," now becoming an antiquated and somewhat academic concept.

Indeed, nothing now taking place in Moscow can be understood unless one accepts the fact that if the Russians ever took the word "containment" literally they no longer do so. For them John Foster Dulles has succeeded in shifting the debate on United States foreign policy from isolationism vs. interventionism to "containment" vs. "roll-back." The Russians may well believe that they were inspired when, several years ago, they pointed to John Foster Dulles with an insistence which then seemed obsessive as the incarnation of a policy going "beyond containment."

Still less difference, of course, can be found between the ideas of Mr. Dulles and those expressed by General Eisenhower in his American Legion speech—a piece of "roll-back" philosophy of the purest essence. It has aroused a real storm in Europe. It is interesting to note that among the European papers that have reacted most critically to General Eisenhower's comments are those which greeted his nomination with relief as a "victory of moderation." *Le Monde* (Paris), the spirit of moderation itself, called it a "violent speech." The still more conservative *Figaro* printed the startling warning that "France might have to withdraw from the Atlantic Pact if this should be the policy of the United States." The London *Daily Mirror* remarked, "But one thing is certain: Russia and China are going to make the most of the propaganda gift that the General has given them," and said that the speech "out-MacArthur MacArthur."

But it is especially in connection with German rearmament that the concept of "roll-back" acquires its

most dangerous content. It fits uncomfortably well the German demand for the recapture of the territories lost to Poland. Only through rearmament, sustained by American power and the strength of the Atlantic coalition, can German nationalism feel confident of realizing its long-range hope of "recuperation." The "roll-back" policy is supported by all the organized groups of Eastern European exiles, now so generously financed by American money and led by American ex-officials such as General Clay and Admiral Kirk. In fact, they have made "roll-back"—they prefer the word "liberation"—the basis of their program and propaganda.

FACED with this tendency, Moscow moves in two directions. Through its new note on Germany it continues its effort to delay French and West Germany ratification of the contractual agreements. And it prepares the ground for Gromyko's mission in London, whose evident objective is to counteract American foreign policy by a British policy which may lead Churchill to voice once more his idea of a meeting of himself, Stalin, and the new President of the United States. But since all this is problematic, Moscow is at the same time stepping up its preparations for war. In one of their recent columns the Alsops (*New York Herald Tribune*, August 22) described Russia as "building up its military power even more rapidly [than the West]." The discussions with Communist China, the new Five-Year Plan, and the party congress called after an interval of so many years are surely intended to augment that strength. As for the Five-Year Plan, it is somewhat naive to compare—as some commentators are doing—expected Russian strength in 1955 with American strength today by presenting in facing columns production figures of minerals, oil, heavy industry, and so on. The capacity of the two great powers has to be viewed in their totality, combined with the economic and military factors, the total political and social potential of each competing power bloc—the willingness to fight of one and the other, the appeal of their respective propaganda and policies, and many other considerations.

Thus unless a rapprochement should intervene, we are traveling toward those "positions of strength" so beloved of Secretary Acheson. But those positions will exist on both sides. If the new Russian note, as is already being forecast, is rejected by the West, the possibilities of negotiation will be considerably reduced. I do not mean to suggest that they will be forever ruled out. Formally, that will not occur until the shooting starts. But the propitious time for negotiation generally occurs only once, and it is the measure of the talent of a statesman, if he really means peace when he talks about peace, to seize it when it occurs.



World Oil Cartel

BY BARROW LYONS

Washington

WHAT can be done in the public interest to control the great international cartels, some of which have more political and economic power than national governments? This baffling problem was brought into focus last week by the publication of the Federal Trade Commission's report on the petroleum industry.

The report vivisects the largest and most potent of all cartels. Despite the oil men's denial that a combine exists, no one can read the 378-page document without being convinced that for nearly a quarter-century the world's supply of "black gold" has been skilfully manipulated by a group of men exercising substantial control over production, prices, and distribution. The control has never been absolute. Every discovery of a new oil field created a problem. The United States' anti-trust laws made this country a difficult market to tame. But one by one the problems always yielded to the concerted action of the oil men; the report is studded with the agreements through which the new fields and the new companies were brought into line. In the United States the petroleum industry made "conservation" the shibboleth, and pro-rationing became the instrument for controlling production.

Detailed though the report is, there is one aspect of the oil cartel which it scarcely touches. This is the political power acquired by the cartel through its infiltration into national governments. When oil men occupy strategic diplomatic and administrative posts and are members of legislatures and control commissions, it is not surprising that government regulation of the industry proves ineffective. Sometimes, as in Britain, the cartel even enters into partnership with government, an arrangement which may be preferable since it is visible and above-board.

But the report does make clear the manner in which seven companies—five American, two foreign—acquired virtually exclusive rights to the major oil fields of the world outside of the United States, Russia, and Mexico. It traces the interlocking directorships and/or joint ownerships through which the cartel controls exploration, producing, transport, and marketing organizations in many parts of the world. It quotes certain basic agreements, obtained for the most part by the commission through subpoena, which show the world-enveloping pattern of the cartel and its guiding principles. The

companies concerned say that all international agreements to control markets and production ended with the outbreak of World War II, but the report offers evidence to show that, whether or not the agreements were legally binding after the war began, the signatories continued to abide by them.

The seven companies named as dominating the world oil combine are Standard Oil of New Jersey, Standard Oil of California, Socony-Vacuum, Gulf Oil, and the Texas Company, all American; the Royal Dutch Shell group, controlled by British and Dutch interests; and Anglo-Iranian Oil, owned 55 per cent by the British government.

Suppressed for a year, the report was finally made public by the Senate Select Committee on Small Business, partly as the result of pressure exerted by Senator Sparkman, committee chairman. Its findings have precipitated action against the major oil companies on several fronts. Hearings were scheduled to begin on September 3 before a federal grand jury in Washington on government charges that twenty-one oil companies and six individuals have been in criminal conspiracy to control prices and production of crude oil and petroleum and to allocate markets throughout the world except in the U. S. S. R., its satellite countries, and Mexico. The Department of Justice, at the request of the Mutual Security Administration, has filed three civil suits in Federal District Court in New York to recover more than \$67,000,000 from four American oil companies and six subsidiaries in alleged overcharges to the M. S. A. and its predecessor, the Economic Cooperation Administration, for oil delivered to Western European countries between May, 1949, and June, 1952. Besides these court actions the industry faces a Congressional inquiry and may be the subject of another investigation next year when a special committee of the United Nations Social and Economic Council is expected to report on international cartels.

Spokesmen for the oil companies reacted to the court actions by charging that they were politically inspired. George V. Holton, chairman of the board of Socony-Vacuum, told the press that the M. S. A. suit "seems to be part of a deliberate program to make this and other oil companies engaged in international trade whipping boys during an election campaign." If this is true, the Democrats are failing lamentably to make political capital of the report. So far they have neglected to point out that some of Eisenhower's most powerful financial supporters are representatives of Rockefeller and Mellon

BARROW LYONS was formerly economist for the Securities and Exchange Commission.

September 6, 1952

187

oil interests who stand to profit enormously from continued high world prices for oil.

It is of course difficult to determine what role, if any, the Presidential contest played in the publication of the report or the bringing of the suits. We do know something, however, of the conflicting pressures that preceded publication. When the report was completed a year ago, the Petroleum Administration, which is dominated by the large oil companies, warned of dire consequences should it be released. This position was supported by some members of the State Department. The document was finally referred to Central Intelligence, which obligingly stamped it "secret." In succeeding months Clark Clifford and former Secretary of the Navy John L. Sullivan, acting in behalf of American oil interests, advised the President against releasing the report.

MEANWHILE forces were gathering on the other side. Howard A. Cowden, president of the Consumers' Cooperative Association of Kansas City, Missouri, one of the largest farmer oil cooperatives in the country, was eager to get the report before the public—the cooperatives have always maintained that the oil cartel operates against the public interest as well as their own. The Missouri Farmers' Association, also in the oil business, was similarly interested. Cowden, representing the International Cooperative Petroleum Association, saw Prime Minister Mossadeh of Iran when he visited the United States early this year and discussed the possibility of having the Abadan refineries operated by cooperative groups from a dozen countries, including Britain and the United States. Mossadeh's initial response was favorable, but the State Department turned thumbs down on the idea. Cowden then appealed to Senator Hennings of Missouri, who immediately launched a campaign to bring into the open all the facts concerning the oil cartel. On April 16 Hennings frankly demanded that the "secret" classification of the Federal Trade Commission report be changed. Subsequently Senator Sparkman joined in the fight, and the President, who may never have really believed in the necessity for suppressing the report, consented to its publication, with certain sections deleted in the interest of national security.

It is interesting that just as the American cooperative movement helped to bring about the present showdown with the oil cartel, so the Swedish cooperatives were largely responsible for an earlier inquiry. In 1945 the Swedish cooperatives, irked by the restrictive influence of the cartel, brought about the appointment of a parliamentary commission which announced its find-

ings two years later. Many of these findings are incorporated in the F. T. C. report.

The Swedes established that as early as 1928 representatives of Standard Oil, Anglo-Iranian Oil, and Royal Dutch Shell signed a cartel agreement which was to serve as the basis for all succeeding compacts. Known variously as the "as is" or Achincarry agreement, it provided for all the essential elements of monopoly—production and marketing quotas, prices, export quotas, and so on. Its terms were kept strictly secret by the oil companies. The "as is" document was supplemented by other agreements in 1930 and 1932. In 1934 a "Draft Memorandum of Principles" was drawn up which, though never formally signed, appears to have had the force of an international agreement. Its introduction as given in the Swedish report reads in part:

This memorandum is to cover all countries to the extent that it is not contrary to law. The United States and territories under its jurisdiction and such countries in which its provisions would be contrary to law are expressly excluded.

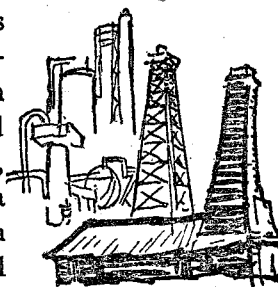
In any market where all of the participants operating in such markets are members of a cartel in such market or may unanimously agree to become members of a cartel in such market, such cartel agreement as may at present exist or come into existence may by unanimous consent override this memorandum for the market and product during the duration of such cartel.

Commenting on the testimony of an attorney for the Shell group before the parliamentary commission, the Swedish report says:

He thought that a document such as the "as is" or an agreement based on the "Draft Memorandum of Principles" was in clear opposition to American anti-trust legislation. Representatives of British companies in Sweden discussed these agreements as cautiously as possible, in order that their American colleagues might not be caused any inconvenience.

Before making public its report in 1947, the Swedish commission showed a draft to the oil companies, requesting comment, and this was subsequently incorporated in the final report. A representative of Standard Oil maintained that the commission, instead of examining the international aspects of the cartel, should have dealt only with its effect in Sweden. He added:

We must demand that the notes not be made public in their present form, since they are concerned with business and operating conditions whose disclosure to the public can, on the one hand, cause us economic harm and, on the other, is not necessary for the execution of the investigation's task. . . . We most decidedly protest against the publication of those confidential agreements or communications of an international character.



The Swedish inquiry brought some alleviation of the domestic oil situation; the international problem remained. In 1947 Thorsten Odhe, director of the International Cooperative Alliance, placed before the U. N. Economic and Social Council a series of proposals for international control of the oil industry—to implement Article VII of the Atlantic Charter and “to assure that all nations, large and small, can buy oil on an equal footing.” Mr. Odhe declared:

The salvation of the United Nations and the peace of the world can come only if the organization is able to face and handle the great economic empires, the real super-states of the modern world. No government has been able to control the oil combine in the general interest. We hope the United Nations can do so.

But the U. N. agency decided to postpone discussion of Mr. Odhe’s proposals until 1949. In that year and in 1950 discussion was again postponed. In 1951 the item

was deleted without the pretense of postponement. Each time the chief objectors to its consideration were the Americans and British, who between them control about 90 per cent of the world’s oil resources outside the U. S. S. R.

Whether the current spate of activity affecting the oil companies will have lasting and beneficial results remains to be seen. Meanwhile the oil cooperatives—American and international—believe they hold the key to at least one problem—that of Iran and the Abadan refineries. They are convinced that operation of these refineries by the cooperatives, perhaps as a trusteeship pending a decision of the World Court on Anglo-Iranian’s interests, would satisfy Mossadegh’s desire to avoid doing business with the British. And they are also convinced that such an arrangement would tend to reduce oil prices in the United States and throughout the world.

The New Party Chairmen

[By custom the selection of a national party chairman every four years is left to the Presidential nominee. To the extent, therefore, that the choice reflects the chooser, these two articles are as much a commentary on Eisenhower and Stevenson as they are on the new party chairmen themselves.]

Stevenson’s Choice

BY ELMER GERTZ

Chicago

WHEN Adlai E. Stevenson named his friend, Stephen Arnold Mitchell, chairman of the Democratic National Committee, he may have surprised even himself by his daring. Certainly he startled most other people. Not only has Mr. Mitchell had no experience in the rough and tumble of national politics, but he is not a political figure at all, in any usual sense, and he is scarcely known even in his home community. Probably the only Democratic national committeeman he had ever talked with before his appointment was Colonel Jacob M. Arvey. Jim Farley, prototype of all party chairmen, knew everybody and everything; Mr. Mitchell knows nobody and nothing—according to the politicians. They all agree with the *Chicago Sun-Times* and *Daily News* that his appointment is “a noble experiment.”

Mr. Mitchell is one of the original Stevenson men. In 1947 he, attorney Louis Kohn, and Lake Forest insur-

ance executive Hermon Dunlap Smith were the first to suggest Stevenson for United States Senator. They sold the idea to Colonel Arvey and the Cook County committee, who eventually slated the politically unknown and untried Stevenson for Governor instead. But it is not gratitude alone which has caused the astute if idealistic Democratic nominee to place his obscure friend in the driver’s seat—or is Stevenson himself expecting to steer the machine? Stevenson has thrived on calculated daring. He outsmarted the practical politicians and chose Walter Schaefer as Illinois Supreme Court justice over their objections; in the same way he forced the machine to discard a state’s attorney. He firmly believes that he has again played a winning hand in naming Mitchell. With remarkable candor Stevenson himself summed up the situation in a letter to the editor of the *Oregon Journal*:

As you well know, I did not want the nomination and received it without commitments to anyone about anything—including President Truman. As evidence of my directions, I have established my headquarters here in Springfield, with people of my own choosing rather than in Washington. The new national chairman, instead of an old-line politician, is a close personal friend whose most recent public service has been as counsel to the Congressional committee investigating the Department of Justice. I suspect this will be something new and, with a touch of practicality, I hope it works. I know he will work.

In 1947, the very year he came forth with the name of Stevenson, Mitchell lost the one political plum he sought for himself. He wanted to be United States dis-

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September 6, 1952

strict attorney at Chicago, a position traditionally held, during a Democratic Administration, by a Catholic. He had the best of sponsorship—influential leaders of his church and National Committeeman Edward J. Kelly, thrice Mayor of Chicago. But a bipartisan group pri-



Steven A. Mitchell

privately decided that for once a Catholic was not going to get the post, and a young Protestant war veteran, the son of a distinguished judge, was named instead. Being Irish and Catholic, however, is still a qualification for the National Democratic Committee chairmanship, and Mitchell is both.

At the civic dinner in observance of the 100th anniversary of the birth of John Peter Altgeld, Mitchell acted as master of ceremonies. It would be interesting to know

what caused an aspiring and respectable young man to take the lead, with Harry Barnard, in honoring a liberal governor who was more roundly denounced by the respectable citizens of his day than any other public figure has been in the history of Illinois. Mitchell called upon Governor Dwight H. Green, Mayor Kennelly, Carl Sandburg, Justice William O. Douglas, and Cardinal Stritch to bear testimony to the greatness of the much-maligned Altgeld; and the sponsors of the dinner included bankers, industrialists, men of affairs, and "the Honorable Adlai E. Stevenson, United States delegate to the General Assembly of the United Nations." Justice Douglas, a friend of Mitchell's, emphasized Governor Altgeld's fight against intolerance, discrimination, and special privilege. He warned that just as Altgeld was called subversive for championing unpopular causes, men today are hounded and harassed for upholding what they believe to be right. This is the sort of thing Mitchell believes in, not with the wild fervor of a crusader but in a sober, almost ponderous fashion.

Mitchell is friendly and communicative in ordinary circumstances but no back-slapper; sometimes he appears diffident, reserved, almost surly. Some who have worked with him on committees have told me that he can be self-confident to the point of cocksureness. But when he was asked, after his appointment as national chairman, whether he was a conservative or a liberal, he replied, "Those words confuse me." On the same occasion he confessed: "I usually say what I think, but things are different now." Is he going to lift himself by his boot-

straps to such a position as Farley once held? It would be characteristic of a man with his determination to succeed.

MITCHELL was born at Rock Valley, Iowa (near Sioux City), in 1903. His father was both farmer and banker, and by no means a roaring success as either one. Stephen attended parochial and public schools. At one time he virtually ran the family farm, according to a friend who knew him then; he delivered milk, read, and studied. After attending Creighton University in Omaha he went to Georgetown University, a Catholic institution in the District of Columbia. There he studied law at night and acted as credit manager and sales promoter for the General Motors Acceptance Corporation by day. He held legal and executive positions with this company until 1938. In 1936 he became a partner in the Chicago law firm of Taylor, Miller, Busch, and Boyden and remained with them until 1942.

At the beginning of the war Mitchell entered government service as head of the French division of the Lend-Lease Administration, later becoming chief adviser on French economic affairs for the State Department. While in Washington he got to know Adlai Stevenson well and to admire his deep earnestness about public affairs. Mitchell felt sure that Stevenson, as a person familiar with the politics of his country but not connected with any big-city machine, would take a high place in the new public order after the war.

Returning to Chicago, Mitchell resumed the private practice of law, finally forming the firm of Mitchell, Conway, and Bane. Conway was a former FBI man; Bane has latterly achieved fame as counsel for the so-called Big Nine Committee of the Chicago City Council, which was appointed to find out all about the alliance between politics, the police, and crime. When the City Council refused Bane the right to compel police officers to file sworn statements as to their sources of income, he resigned in anger, not concealing his opinion of the Kennelly administration. The city was still excited about this investigation when Stevenson made Bane's partner, Mitchell, Democratic national chairman. The appointment was a direct slap at an important wing of the party and showed once more Stevenson's refusal to compromise with corruption.

Earlier this year Mitchell had been named chief counsel for the House judiciary subcommittee investigating the Department of Justice, partly on the recommendation, it is said, of Vice-President Barkley, who is Stevenson's cousin. Mitchell's first move was to submit to the subcommittee a complete audit of the financial affairs of his law firm to show that he and his associates had no hampering commitments. Then, with the aid of a group of former FBI agents, he began to lay the groundwork

for what was to have been a thorough study of the Justice Department. Higher responsibilities have now taken him from this task.

The Mitchells live comfortably but by no means luxuriously in an apartment in Chicago. He is a director of Catholic Charities and a trustee of DePaul University and has been vice-president of the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations, a group once headed by Stevenson. His wife received her master's degree in education from Columbia University, and two of his three sons have gone to Cornell. The third son is at Loyola Academy, a Catholic school. The family spends much time near Taos, New Mexico, where they have an adobe house on a four-acre piece of ground. Mitchell works on additions to the house himself, patiently and skilfully building it into something that may yet be impressive, like his own developing character and career.

Eisenhower's Choice

BY NATHAN PERLMUTTER

Detroit

IMMEDIATELY after the nomination of General Eisenhower as the Republican Party's candidate for the Presidency, Arthur E. Summerfield, chairman of the Michigan Republican Committee, was named chairman of the National Republican Committee. His selection is alleged to have been a concession to Eisenhower's insistence that his "crusade" be mapped by a Middle Westerner. The story goes that with a Middle Westerner prominent at his political GHQ, Eisenhower felt he could offset charges of Wall Street and Albany domination.

With respect to Summerfield, however, Eisenhower's "strategic withdrawal" from the moneyed East seems little more than a feint. Summerfield's views are elastic enough to embrace those of the internationalist wing of the Republican Party, based in Wall Street and at present led by Tom Dewey, as well as those of the tight-minded, tight-pursed Middle West personified by his own good friend, Senator Taft. Back in 1940 the affable, middle-aged Arthur E. Summerfield of Flint, one of the nation's largest Chevrolet dealers, energetically supported the candidacy of Wendell Willkie; in June, 1952, he was frequently reported ready to swing his delegation to General MacArthur in the event of a Taft-Eisenhower deadlock. Clearly the Republicanism of the presiding officer of the revamped National Committee, which contains sixty-three Dewey-oriented replacements for Taft Midwesterners, is of the non-dogmatic variety. As a matter of fact, on most important political issues Summerfield has uttered nothing for the record except platitudes. His friends say that privately he has expressed approval

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of the Taft-Hartley act on the theory that labor leaders have too often used their power for self-aggrandizement.

Among his own state's Republican voters Summerfield has never aroused much enthusiasm. He has sought office twice, running first for secretary of state and later for governor, and been defeated both times. However, he has made a better record in party administration. As a fund raiser for the state and national ticket he has paced the G. O. P.'s subscription canvassers throughout the nation. Indeed, his fund-raising technique has been so markedly successful that it has attracted the attention of a federal grand jury.

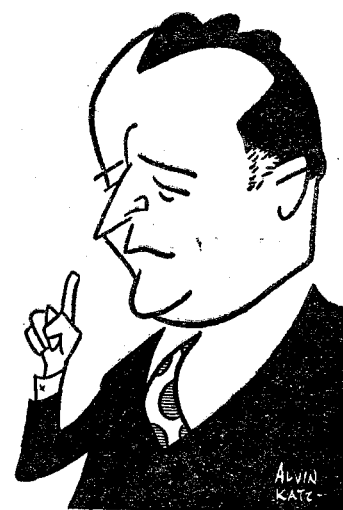
In 1948 Michigan's Republican attorney general, in the course of investigating gray marketeering among Michigan automobile dealers, accused Summerfield, as a key figure in the Flint association of automobile dealers, of being responsible for assessing dealers one dollar for every car sold. The money thus collected, it was claimed, was used to meet the \$250,000 quota set for Summerfield by the Republican high command. The charges were aired before a grand jury, which took no action against him. It did, however, display considerable interest in the Republican State Committee's fund-raising apparatus.

Summerfield's efforts in behalf of G. O. P. finances earned him the chairmanship of a Republican national strategy committee in 1950. Eighteen days after his appointment he dramatically quit his post. In resigning he charged Guy Gabrielson, then chairman of the Republican National Committee, with plotting to let the strategy committee "die on the vine." The old-fashioned Gabrielson and the high-powered automobile dealer could not agree on methods of selling the Republican Party to the people.

Summerfield, anxious to avoid being identified as an anti-Taft man, carefully kept his tiff with Gabrielson on the level of personalities. He continued to nurse his

friendship with Taft, who seemed likely to be the Republican candidate, despite his open row with Taft's hand-picked national chairman. Taft, though disturbed, did not care to come out against the chairman of the important Michigan Republican Committee.

In April of this year the canny automobile dealer visited General Eisenhower at his headquarters in Paris on the latter's invitation. After talking with the "apolitical" General in three secret sessions Summerfield returned to Michigan and announced that he was still



Arthur E. Summerfield

September 6, 1952

"uncommitted." The gravest decision of his political life, he said, would be to choose between Eisenhower and Taft.

As chairman of one of the three largest uninstructed delegations to the Republican convention, Summerfield figured that his decision could be of the king-making variety—if it were made public at the right moment. His refusal to declare himself kept Taft and Taft men in constant, solicitous touch with Flint. Eisenhower scheduled his first major address after his appearance at Abilene for Detroit, with the uncommitted Summerfield as his chaperon for the occasion. Speculation about Summerfield's intentions grew with each passing week. While the automobile tycoons Henry Ford II and Paul Hoffman, both powerful in Michigan Republican circles, fueled the Eisenhower engine, Summerfield made friendly but innocuous references to his "old friend, Senator Taft," kept mum about his April visit to Paris, and insisted that he was really undecided as to whom he would support.

Seasoned Republican leaders are certain that Summerfield's indecision was real. They maintain that he was holding back until he could spot the contestant with the winning form—for sure. At the eleventh hour, as General MacArthur reluctantly resigned himself to a position with Remington-Rand, Summerfield, in conjunction with Governor Fine, placed his bet.

Reporters allege that his own delegation did not know where he stood until they saw him grab the Michigan banner and heard his Tarzan-like whoops when Eisenhower was placed in nomination. Convention regulars call his caginess the " slickest exhibition of politicking" in their lifetime. Summerfield himself insists that he decided upon Ike only the night before the balloting, but he admits smilingly that he had been "flirting" with Ike's forces long before that. He might have added that as a hedging gambler, wearing ideological considerations lightly, he had also flirted with the Taft forces, who may not have returned his winks with quite the fervor or promise of the younger Eisenhower set.

Report on Tunisia—II

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

Tunis
THE Tunisian government is composed partly of Tunisians and partly of French officials. The Prime Minister is a Tunisian and acts as liaison between the French Resident General and the Bey. M. Chenik, who was Prime Minister until last March, when he was arrested and deported, had fought for "internal autonomy" for over a year, with the support not only of the Tunisian nationalists but of the Bey himself. His successor, M. Baccouche, was more or less "imposed" on the Bey by the French and is little more than a figurehead.

When the Chenik government was formed in 1950, it was the first to be allowed to include a leading member of the Neo-Destour Party, M. Ben Youssef. At that time the French government was ostensibly in favor of granting "internal autonomy" by degrees. M. Schuman in particular had made speeches about Tunisia's "march toward independence." In February, 1951, Paris agreed to a number of important reforms, but these were consistently sabotaged by the French in Tunis. The crisis came to a head at the end of 1951, when in its famous note of December 15 the French government virtually ended all negotiation. Although it did not use the word, the note was generally interpreted to mean that the

French were determined to perpetuate the present system of "co-sovereignty."

Three demands made by the Chenik government on October 31 were rejected. These were: (1) the formation of an all-Tunisian government, with the Tunisian ministers using "as long as necessary" the service of French technicians; (2) the election of a legislative assembly which would be "truly representative"—during the transition period laws would be enacted by the Cabinet, but the assembly would have the right to amend them later; (3) no new French officials would be recruited except the needed technicians—the Tunisian government would agree in return to engage only Frenchmen as foreign technicians.

The Socialists in France and even some members of center groups—notably M. Mitterand, whose own proposals of last January are not too different—considered the Chenik plan a possible basis for discussion, but the right thought it a deadly trap and preferred to break off negotiations, at least for the time being. The Tunisian nationalists reacted violently. Habib Bourguiba, the dynamic Neo-Destour leader, went around the country haranguing large crowds; there were strikes, clashes with the police, and some bloodshed. Finally M. Chenik, yielding to strong pressure from Bourguiba, decided to appeal to the United Nations. On January 13, just as a tough new Resident General, M. de Hauteclocque, arrived at Tunis amid a great display of military and naval power,

ALEXANDER WERTH, *The Nation's* Paris correspondent, recently visited Tunisia. The first part of his report appeared last week.

work. And for a final thing, it suggests that the big book Hemingway has been working on in the past, and is still working on, may be his greatest.

HARVEY BREIT

"What Once They Were"

THE ELIZABETHAN WOMAN. By Carroll Camden. The Elsevier Press. \$4.50.

NOVELIST Samuel Richardson once composed a discourse on the theme: "Women Are Not What Once They Were." By now it is pretty generally recognized that they never have been, and Mr. Camden's study abundantly proves that they certainly weren't in the days of Elizabeth. His is a sober and scholarly book based upon exhaustive research, especially in the Folger and Huntington libraries, but it will be without interest only in those places, if there are any, where women are not discussed. Incidentally it is also handsomely printed on unusually fine paper and plainly falls within the category favored by Sir Toby Belch: it is well bound and treats of love.

By Shakespeare's time the English woman was already famous on the Continent for the amount of freedom she enjoyed, very much as the American woman is famous today. Satirists still repeated the anti-feminist platitudes of the Middle Ages and Puritanism tended to breathe new conviction into them, but the counter-current of Renaissance idolatry ran strongly too, especially, of course, in poems and plays. What is more important, it is made abundantly evident that women then as now went about getting their own way without being much concerned over the extremes of opinion which made them alternately angels or devils. The more unusual among them read Latin, wrote books, and managed business enterprises. Their less ambitious sisters ruled their husbands, wasted his money, and destroyed his peace by employing all the time-honored methods, including the prolonged discourse delivered while he was trying to go to sleep and already familiarly known as a "curtain lecture." Despite the fulminations of the moralists, they painted, powdered, showed their knees when dancing, and, as Mr.

Camden's illustrations reveal, far outdid the boldest of television's décolletés. The Elizabethan neck line plunged right and left as well as center, and if the radio was still in the womb of time, upper-class housewives supplied its lack by insisting upon servants to play music or to read stories aloud to them while they performed their tasks.

A good deal of incidental information comes, of course, from plays and other forms of fiction, but the author of the present work draws even more heavily upon less familiar sources, including books by ministers and lawyers as well as by the self-appointed lay instructors, who flourished then as now. During the sixteenth century there was a spate of books on every level of sophistication about choosing a wife, "adjusting" to the marriage state, educating children, managing a kitchen, and so on. Parallels to most of the points made could be found in the similar books published this year, the chief difference being perhaps more downrightness in the Elizabethan expressions. Whereas in our day we cite statistics to show that marriages are

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September 6, 1952

195

more likely to be happy when the religious views of the contracting parties coincide, a sixteenth-century writer could say bluntly that you cannot have much love and sympathy for a spouse whom you believe to be damned. Then as now young men were advised not to marry without love but also warned that love is not everything—the latter sometimes in terms a little more frank than we usually care to use, as, for example, when the candidate for matrimony is reminded that if the wife brings a good dowry he will always find at least one thing in her to love. He was also warned, as he is today, that everything is not likely to run smooth, and that what we call “a period of adjustment” is necessary. “As in a music are many discords before there can be framed a true Diapason; so in wedlock are many jars, before there can be established a perfect friendship.” On the general question concerning the desirability of marriage the opinion seems to have been pretty much that which Samuel Johnson later summed up as: “Marriage has many pains; celibacy few pleasures.”

Marriages were still very often arranged by parents, and to marry against the parents' wishes was still regarded as, especially in the case of women, highly improper; or as one writer puts it, the virgin who marries without her father's consent is “unhonestly espoused” despite the undoubted fact that she was legally so. Nevertheless, the

current of the times was so increasingly in favor of free choice and the love match that Elizabethans had already worked out the compromise which held at least until the end of the eighteenth century: a wise parent would claim no more than the right to veto; he must not insist upon an unwelcome husband or wife though he might forbid a union of which he disapproved.

As usual the liberality of the law lagged behind the *mores*. Except for the rich or powerful, divorce was almost impossible and even legal separation extremely difficult. The church was losing its control over the contracting of marriages, but the state still tended to agree with it that once the marriage had been consummated it was not to be broken. Wives, moreover, still suffered under various legal disadvantages, notably in the fact that their property passed wholly into the power of the husband. Yet in this as in many other ways they may have suffered less often than the legal situation would lead one to suspect. The question whether or not a husband had a legal right to beat his wife was in dispute, but it seems reasonable to assume that if the question had arisen very often it would have been settled. The expression “to wear the breeches” was already current, but would hardly have been so if the phenomenon were nearly as unknown as the legal status of women would seem to guarantee.

Undoubtedly the position of women has improved since Elizabethan times. It is equally evident that nothing new either for or against them has been said since then. Men are certainly not going to stop talking about women, but it would seem that they might just as well.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

Socialism in America

SOCIALISM AND AMERICAN LIFE. Edited by Donald Drew Egbert and Stow Persons. Princeton University Press. Two Volumes. \$10 each; \$17.50 the Set.

THE well-run undergraduate program in American civilization at Princeton University, which has produced creditable symposia on various aspects of American life, is responsible, with the help of the Rockefeller Foundation, for these two volumes. The second

volume, which will be indispensable to students of the subject, is an elaborate bibliography of writings on socialism in America and in Europe. In the first, thirteen contributors deal with every aspect of American socialism—utopian, Marxian, and Christian. At the heart of it is an excellent critical history of Marxian socialism in the United States by Daniel Bell, an essay of almost two hundred pages which might well stand as a separate work. Comparable in length is an interesting survey of Socialism and American Art by Donald Drew Egbert, which goes far beyond the limitations suggested by its title.

A central question, raised by several contributors, hangs heavily over the volume: Why has there been so little support for socialism in America? The contributors recognize that socialism as a political doctrine has had little influence on American life, and that America has had little influence on the direction or content of socialist thought. One is tempted then to ask: How is it possible to produce such a massive tome on the subject? Much of the first volume is actually devoted to the general traditions of Western socialism—including an illuminating essay on Socialism in European History to 1848 by E. Harris Harbison—and much to the non-Marxian varieties, Christian communitarian and secular utopian, which have left a complex record without ever entering very decisively into the main stream of American history. The editors in short, have avoided the curse of provincialism that lies upon college programs in American civilization: they have avoided treating socialism without due regard for its European origins and development, but they have done so at the cost of including much general material that is of necessity derivative and familiar—discussions of the nature of Marxian theory and the like. The work is, none the less, the most important single contribution to our knowledge of socialism in this country.

Wilbert E. Moore, in his essay on *Sociological Aspects of American Socialism*, suggests a useful and equally meaningful inversion of the central question: “Why are there *any* Socialists in the United States?” What he calls for, it seems to me, is something that we completely lack: a theory of the Socialist—or, more generally, the radi-

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cal—personality. In this one respect the volume, although suggestive at several points, is quite disappointing. Representatives of the disciplines that one might expect to have most to say on this subject tell us little; and as a historian who is sometimes troubled by the conceptual limitations within which his craft is usually pursued, I am relieved to find that Mr. Bell's section, whose method is historical, is at least as illuminating on this question as the others. George W. Hartmann's essay on *The Psychology of American Socialism* seems to me to get no farther—indeed, not to get nearly as far—as the marginal suggestions that can be gleaned from Harold Lasswell's "The Psychopathology of Politics," which appeared more than twenty years ago.

These fourteen essays vary so much in purpose and caliber that I despair of conveying in a brief review any conception of the merits of the book's several parts. To me the one seriously objectionable contribution is Paul Sweezy's account of the slight influence of Marxism on formal economic thought in the United States. Sweezy finds an exception in Thorstein Veblen, whose affiliations with Marx he speciously exaggerates by stressing the undeniable similarities while ignoring Veblen's penetrating critique of Marxism. The very essays on *The Socialist Economics of Karl Marx and His Followers*, which Sweezy, quite correctly, cites as evidence of Veblen's knowledge of the literature of Marxism, also contain observations on the Marxian system fatal to the old view of Veblen as "an expounder of Marx," which Sweezy attempts in a roundabout way to substantiate.

I am also appalled by Sweezy's comments on the scholarly and theoretical sterility of official communism in the United States. Since the Communist Party has slavishly—the word is not Sweezy's—followed what Sweezy tactfully calls Leninism, and since "Lenin is the most reliable interpreter of Marx," the Communist Party, he concludes, "has rarely misjudged the nature of the historical period in which we live." "On the other hand," he blandly concedes, "the absence of a habit of or capacity for, independent theorizing has had its disadvantage too." This

genteel characterization and complacent acceptance of the party's total rejection of intellectual independence strikes an incongruous note in an essay which goes out of its way to emphasize the limitations on freedom in American universities.

RICHARD HOFSTADTER

Appearance on Its Head

STRANGERS AND AFRAID. By Thomas Sterling. Simon and Schuster. \$3.50.

WHAT Mr. Sterling has done in his first novel is to turn appearance on its head, as the best of our serious young novelists are doing, in order to be able to examine more closely those complex relationships which, we were assured by the novelists of the thirties—and even by certain currently popular writers—are perfectly simple and obvious. Just as Saul Bellow in "The Victim" gave us a Jew who was secure in his work and his wife's love and essentially at peace with the world, and a rejected anti-Semitic opponent who quivered with insecurity and feelings

of persecution, so Mr. Sterling—although not with Mr. Bellow's mature artistry—gives us a Negro "criminal" who is the intellectual and moral superior of the dedicated and distinguished head of the League for the Right to Freedom, presumably engaged in selflessly struggling for Negro rights.

The theme is developed in a series of alternating chapters told by or about Maccabee David, the enterprising, brave, and hardy Negro boy from the South; Lyle Bishop, the professional pleader for civil rights; and Mamie Bishop, Lyle's millstone wife. Although their lives intersect only at the beginning and end of the book, we are constantly reminded of the ironic contrast between Maccabee's calm acceptance of, but not submission to, his condition and Lyle's restless suspicion that his entire life of activity for good causes has been simply an irrelevance, rendered even less significant by his wife's vacant idiocy.

The pace of the story is so deliberate that many readers may put the book aside without giving Mr. Sterling the opportunity to unravel these lives

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197

completely. Part of the fault is in the unevenness of the writing: to my mind Maccabee David is far more vivid and more fully realized than Lyle Bishop, who remains an abstraction—despite earnest concentration upon the details of his sex life and the workings of his tortured mind—and a convenient vehicle for the author's reflections on the futility of uplifters who attempt to reform humanity from the outside, so to speak.

Nevertheless, Mr. Sterling's two achievements—the creation of an unusually real and memorable human being in the young Negro and the demonstration of his understanding of the complexity of situations that have previously been "explained" by propagandists in grossly oversimplified terms—should encourage us to expect a great deal from him in the future.

HARVEY SWADOS

CONTRIBUTORS

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FROM Romola Nijinsky's "The Last Years of Nijinsky" (Simon and Schuster, \$3.50) one can abstract certain essential facts—that when Nijinsky was pronounced incurably insane in 1919 his wife dedicated her life to his care; that she never gave up hope of cure; that the first two series of insulin shock treatments in August and December, 1938, had excellent results; that patient re-education re-established contact of Nijinsky's mind with the world outside it and brought him to the point where, freed of his hallucinations, he began to act quite normally; that the war made it increasingly difficult and dangerous to stay on in Switzerland; that she tried to secure permission to bring him to the United States for further treatment, and finally was granted a visa for him for a year's visit by the State Department, only to have it refused by one of the consular monsters we had in some European cities; that there began, as a result, a long nightmare of flight into Hungary when it was still neutral, existence there when it became involved in the war and was taken over by the Germans, flight to Vienna at the end of the war, then to American-occupied Austria, and finally to England, where Nijinsky died in 1950.

These facts one abstracts from a narrative which is fragmentary and in which there are internal inconsistencies, distortions, improbabilities, inaccuracies, and other evidence of a lack of the minimum objectivity necessary to command belief. It is understandable that Mme. Nijinsky's experiences should have come to be distorting lenses through which she sees, for example, that dancers here, fearing Nijinsky's rivalry, worked in 1940 to prevent his coming; when we can see what dancers here could see in 1940—that Nijinsky, aged fifty, rather stout, and ill, was no rival. It is understandable that her love for him should similarly cause her to see him behaving, in the years before his illness, with unflinching quiet good manners in the face of every misfortune, injustice, and cruelty, and thus giving "hardly a sign" of the insanity that was to strike him down; when I can recall that his tan-

trums in Diaghilev's company, when he joined it in New York in 1916, were such as to get into the papers (a friend reported having been told by a wealthy patroness of the arts about Lopokova's exclaiming to her in tears: "If he only would tell me what he wants!"), and those tantrums are described in Robert Edmond Jones's account of his collaboration with Nijinsky in the ballet "Till Eulenspiegel." And it is understandable that Mme. Nijinsky's hatred of Diaghilev should cause her to see even his company after the first world war as one that "lacked the real, great dancers"; when in fact it had Spessiva, Doubrovskaya, Danilova, Nikitina, Markova, Massine, Woizikovsky, Lifar. These distortions are understandable; but what one understands is the reasons why Mme. Nijinsky is not a credible witness—especially about Nijinsky and Diaghilev, and presumably too about the third person involved with them in the events that ended in catastrophe, namely Mme. Nijinsky herself.

She was, by the evidence of her thirty-year battle to save Nijinsky, a person of fiercely indomitable will (one suspects that her formidable personality was the reason why Nijinsky's sister Bronislava, his daughter Kyra, and his former colleague Karsavina didn't visit him in his last years); and though she tells it otherwise one feels sure that she fought as fiercely to win him as she did later to save him. If that was so, then to the strains on Nijinsky caused by the circumstances of his childhood, youth, and professional training, and to the further strains caused by the relation with Diaghilev, there were added the strains caused by the battle of the two strong-willed persons for possession of him; and under this accumulation he collapsed. One can only estimate probabilities in this way; the certain truth is not likely ever to be established. Not so much because important participants in the events are dead, as because they would, even if they were alive, be no more credible witnesses than Mme. Nijinsky. The disinterestedness and objectivity of well-ordered personalities and minds, rare enough anywhere, are certainly not to be found in the inhabitants of that world apart in which are produced the beautiful appearances of order that are presented to our eyes on the stage.

Letters to the Editors

Mutual Funds: Upward and Onward . . .

Dear Sirs: In the June 14 issue of *The Nation* you published an article by William G. Ferris entitled *The Mutual-Fund Rainbow*. The inaccuracies and off-target implications are so pronounced, I cannot let it go by unchallenged. I am not connected with any mutual fund; do not sell securities of any type. My function is to prepare literature for those who do.

1. In speaking of the sales charges Mr. Ferris says, "The charge is split between the fund and the investment house which sells the fund's shares." That is not so. The funds get no part of the sales charge and the underwriting firms get a maximum of 25 per cent.

2. Mr. Ferris discusses the Securities and Exchange Commission's Statement of Policy, which determines how far the funds can go in their advertised claims. He points out that the implementation of the policy rests with the National Association of Securities Dealers, "which is not a disinterested party. The association reviews advertising for mutual funds and presumably tries to keep it under control."

My work makes it necessary for me to deal with the association because I have to prepare literature within the Statement of Policy. The author's implication that the association winks at infractions of the Statement of Policy is totally false and misleading. Those who write about funds must hew to the line or face serious difficulties. Wherever there are laws, rules, and regulations there will be offenders. There are, from time to time, a few who ignore the Statement of Policy. But the S. E. C. and the N. A. S. D. are watchful, and the penalties are severe.

3. The greatest error in Mr. Ferris's article, however, is the interesting manner in which he compares a horse and a cow and tries to make it appear that he is comparing two horses. He compares the 1929 high and the 1932 low prices of five *closed-end* investment companies and the 1937 highs and lows of seven *open-end* companies. His "naive" investor who sought "experienced, competent financial management didn't do very well." Mr. Ferris casually mentions that Lehman Corporation shares are worth more today than in 1929, but he works hard to create the

impression that investment companies do not weather storms too successfully.

4. Either in ignorance or deliberately Mr. Ferris makes quite a point of the terrible things that happened to some of the big closed-end investment trusts in the '29 crash. These were trusts which borrowed a large part of their assets and issued bonds for them, which raised another part by issuing preferred stock, and the rest in common stock. If things went well the common-stock owners did fine. If things went badly, the bond- and preferred-stock holders were taken care of first, and that didn't leave much for the common-stock holders. That type of investment trust and the resultant record when the market crashed have no relationship to the modern mutual fund. They are two different animals. Today only a very small number of the mutual funds are permitted by their charters to borrow any money. What borrowing they may do is limited by the S. E. C.

5. Mr. Ferris makes no realistic comparisons. He avoids all the yardsticks used by the experienced, informed investor—comparison with market averages, with records of individual investors, with the performance of the "blue chips." He shows no comprehension of the fact that any company or individual investing in common stocks, holding cash in his deep freeze, will see and has seen broad fluctuations in asset values. It would have been just as easy to compare the asset values the funds had in 1932 with today.

6. Mutual funds are offered to the public as long-term investments. They make it possible for investors, no matter how small or how large their investments, to enjoy the reduced risk of broad diversification. They offer full-time professional investment management and supervision to all. Those two values have given little investors the greatest opportunity to buy a share in American industry they have ever had.

7. Mutual funds give the public a solid opportunity to make an investment that gives them a chance to keep pace with inflation. In spreading ownership of our economy they constitute a dynamic challenge to communism.

For those reasons I make this vigorous protest against a misleading, biased article calculated to misinform people about a great and worth-while institution that grows stronger every year.

Washington

FRED NAUHEIM

. . And Sometimes Downward

Dear Sirs: In answering Mr. Nauheim's letter I shall take his points up paragraph by paragraph.

1. The "load" is split, technically, between the distributor and the dealer. However, in most cases the distributor is the group which organized the fund in the first place, and the managers of the fund often are also managers of the distributing house. In other words, the money doesn't go into the right-hand pocket; it goes into the left-hand one. The important point about the "load" is that in most cases it takes more than a year of dividends before the investor can make up for it.

2. I don't contend that the National Association of Securities Dealers winks at infractions of the Securities and Exchange Commission's Statement of Policy. I do believe that advertisements which state, "You are relieved of all details except cashing dividend checks," are misleading, because they imply, as does much mutual-fund promotional literature, that there is no risk involved. There is a very real risk, as there must be in all investments based mainly on common and preferred stocks.

3. The article compared high and low prices of closed-end funds. Then it compared high and low prices of open-end funds. What's wrong with that? I don't see how that's comparing a cow with a horse. It is flattering to have Mr. Nauheim say I "worked hard to create the impression that investment companies do not weather investment storms too successfully," but my modesty forces me to confess it was not hard work. All I did was copy down the prices. They spoke for themselves.

4. The article distinguished between closed-end and open-end funds. Mr. Nauheim emphasizes one technical difference. There are others, not always favorable to open-end funds. However, not all closed-end funds had outstanding senior securities. Also, the "leverage" factor created by these senior securities has often been used as an argument for buying closed-end funds. The two types are not as different as Mr. Nauheim would like to believe. They are both founded on the same principle—using other people's money to invest, or speculate, in securities. Mr. Nauheim says, "Either in ignorance or deliberately Mr. Ferris makes quite a point of the terrible things that hap-

pened to some of the big closed-end investment trusts in the '29 crash." It wasn't through ignorance. It was deliberate, because the truth is that these investment trusts, sold on the same assurances of professional management that are now used to peddle the open-end funds, did have a terrible record in the 1929-32 period.

5. The "yardsticks" which Mr. Nauheim mentions are all quite popular with writers of mutual-fund literature. All are relative, and I was not interested in comparing one mutual fund with another. Some funds do better than the various market averages, some do worse. As far as the little fellow is concerned, the important point is at what prices he can buy and sell. I disagree with Mr. Nauheim's statement:

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"He [Ferris] makes no realistic comparisons." I think a comparison of prices is the most realistic comparison possible. I don't see where Mr. Nauheim gets the impression: "Mr. Ferris shows no comprehension of the fact that any company or individual investing in common stocks, holding cash in a deep freeze, will see and has seen broad fluctuations in asset values." On the contrary, I am very well aware of this fact. It seems to me that it is Mr. Nauheim and other mutual-fund sales-promotion men who ignore this very important element of price fluctuations. It is my point that mutual-fund prices—or "net asset values," as the boys prefer—can go down in a bear market as readily as they have gone up in a bull market—a fact which the mutual funds blithely ignore when selling themselves to little investors.

6. All this is true and was not disputed in the original article. However, the phrase "long-term investment" can be questioned. This reminds me of the phrase "for the long pull," so ardently reiterated by securities salesmen in late 1928 and early 1929. No one really knows how long he can hold any investment, and a man buying a mutual fund today may find he will need to convert to cash at a time when he will get back less than he put in. That is a legitimate risk. I don't quarrel with it. But I do quarrel with the mutual funds' habit of refusing to mention the risk.

7. Of course, mutual funds give an investor a chance to keep pace with inflation—in other words, their net asset values go up when stock prices go up. But does Mr. Nauheim think inflation is perpetual, and that stock prices will advance forever? I doubt that the funds combat communism. Mr. Nauheim probably means socialism, anyway. This brings up an interesting point. More and more the element of patriotism is being introduced into the marketing of securities, apparently deriving its impetus from the success in selling government bonds on this pitch during World War II. It may prove a costly sales technique to the financial fraternity. What does Mr. Nauheim think will be the reaction of the little guy, who has been told it is patriotic to buy securities at prices exceeded only once in history, if the stock market, and mutual funds, enter a broad, sustained decline? I don't think the little guy is going to be too enthusiastic about Mr. Nauheim's economic system.

In essence, Mr. Nauheim seems to object to history. He doesn't like the idea that prices of funds, both closed-end and open-end, have suffered material declines when the stock market has declined. I'm sorry, but that is the way it happened. He also seems to object to any dissent from his view of the future—a perpetual inflation, an unending advance in stock prices.

WILLIAM FERRIS,

Market Editor, Associated Press
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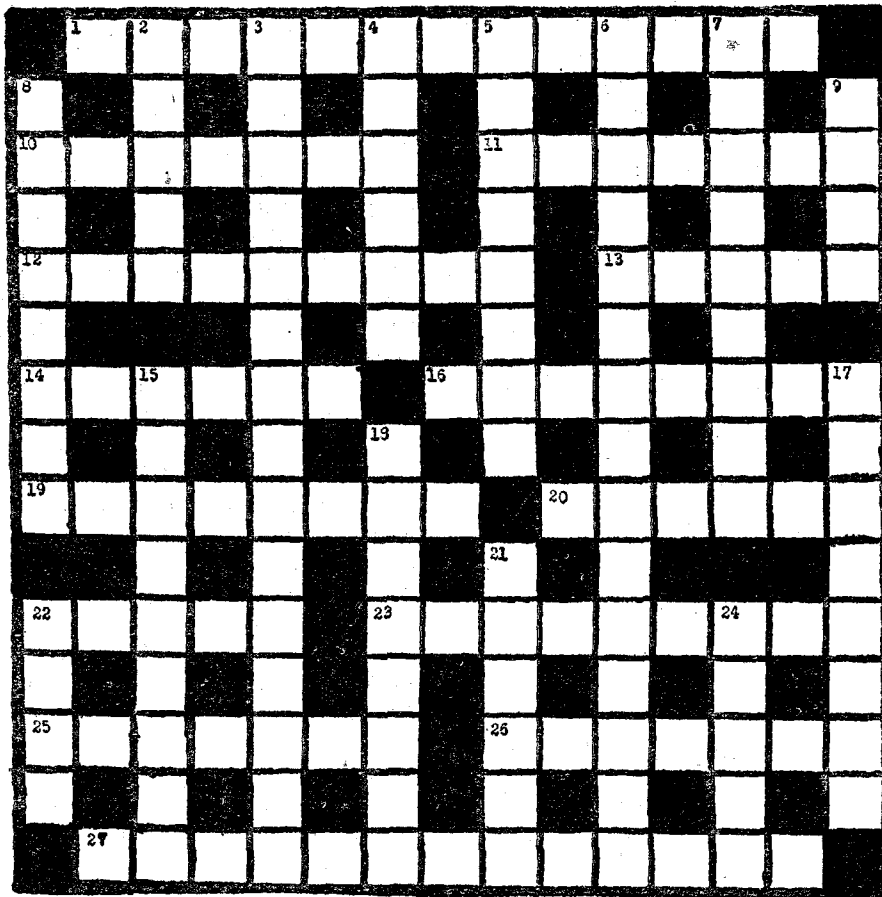
9/6/52

CORRECTION: In its issue of August 9 *The Nation* stated that Senator McCarthy had been rated "the worst Senator" by a poll of Washington correspondents and that this conclusion had been indorsed by the American Political Science Association. The reference to the poll was accurate, but the American Political Science Association, as such, has not "indorsed" the rating, nor has it taken any position on McCarthy. The Senator was placed "at the very bottom" of the Senators with a low rating by Dr. Byron L. Johnson and Dr. T. E. Butt, two political scientists listed by the association as legislative specialists. Their judgment was quoted in a report of the American Political Science Association (see "The McCarthy Record" p. 64); hence the confusion. As a research and analytical professional organization, the American Political Science Association does not draw "conclusions" of the type drawn by Drs. Johnson and Butt.

The NATION

Crossword Puzzle No. 481

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

- 1 Is it supposed to get the baseball team out of a jam? (1, 6, 2, 4)
- 10 This could be the way to get lost in a monkey or missionary, perhaps. (7)
- 11 Trail. (7)
- 12 Premeditates changing the disease, after you have dined out. (9)
- 13 One might associate girders with them! (5)
- 14 Feature attached to Abraham's home, on the street or in the sea. (6)
- 16 An integral part of television might be akin to checking the meter. (8)
- 19 The statesman of rank Lincoln made more or less notable. (8)
- 20 Life in the Woods, alternatively. (6)
- 22 Refuse to tease someone good-naturedly. (5)
- 23 One has to have them, but it sounds as though something has been added to the story of Goldilocks! (9)
- 25 They add a little touch to neckwear (and taste good, too)! (7)
- 26 It reads as though it might be on horseback. (7)
- 27 Voluntary confession? (But it's not intended to let you out!) (4, 9)
- 4 Tomorrow does, according to Hamlet. (6)
- 5 Zig zag, perhaps, and charge around the right end. (8)
- 6 Drag in fish, except we get a flower instead. (8, 7)
- 7 Blown up, perhaps. (9)
- 8 It might be a blow to the factory worker, but the criminal gets quite attached to it. (8)
- 9 An uprising of 17 without his cohorts softens things up. (4)
- 15 Symbol of reputation in part. (9)
- 17 It's sort of strange to follow the sort of man who might follow him. (8)
- 18 Spread out. (8)
- 21 Improperly set in Erin, an opera by Verdi. (6)
- 22 A native of Egypt sounds commonly taken. (4)
- 24 Naomi, when associated with a group, is basically a radical. (5)

DOWN

- 2 Blots up checks, perhaps. (5)
- 3 I often think mice might apply to Pauline's salvation. (2, 3, 4, 2, 4)

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York.

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 480

ACROSS:—1 PART-TIME; 9 REFRAIN; 10 SWEATER; 11 DESPAIR; 12 OXALATE; 13 LITTLE THEATRE; 15 POSTGRADUATES; 21 CHARADE; 22 JACOBIN; 23 FAIRIES; 24 CRATERS; 25 CONEYS; 26 ESCAROLE.

DOWN:—1 PARODY; 2 REFUSAL; 3 TEACART; 4 MINERAL WATERS; 6 AVERAGE; 7 OUTCAST; 8 SURVEYED; 10 SHORT SUBJECTS; 14 and 17 SPECIFIC GRAVITY; 16 and 5 across STATION WAGONS; 18 TOCCATA; 19 SUB-ZERO; 20 IN ESSE.

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A SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT

THE SOUTHERN NEGRO: 1952

■ TO BE PUBLISHED ON SEPTEMBER 27 ■

The rise of Southern Negroes carries immense political implications. Nearly 2,000,000 of them—the country's greatest potential bloc of new voters, and unpledged to any single party—are expected to vote for President this November, a number almost sufficient to have given Dewey the victory over Truman in 1948. *The Nation* is planning to tell for the first time the story of "The Southern Negro: 1952." Prepared by outstanding experts in the field, the supplement will contain the following articles:

I. "THE SOUTH: GIANT OF TOMORROW," by *Henry Lesesne*, Southern regional correspondent for the New York *Herald Tribune*, outstanding authority on the Southern socio-economic-political scene. "The spires of industry cast long shadows over the cotton and tobacco fields and the piney woods of Dixie," writes Mr. Lesesne, discussing the amazing socio-economic changes which have taken place in the South of recent years. It is, of course, these changes at the base of society which have begun to produce aberrant political behavior foreshadowing the demise of the "Solid South."

II. "THE NEGRO VOTE IN THE SOUTH, 1952," by *Henry Lee Moon*, Director of Public Relations for the NAACP. Mr. Moon analyses the growth in the number of Negroes voting in the South and points up the significance of this phenomenon. Mr. Moon has given more attention to the Negro in politics than any other American authority. He is the author of *Balance of Power: The Negro Vote* (1948).

III. "THE NEO-DIXIECRATS," by *Tarleton Collier*. A native of Alabama, Mr. Collier has been an editorial writer on the Louisville *Courier-Journal* for the last ten years. He is the author of several studies about the South, including studies of its penal systems, and a novel *Fire in the Sky*. In this lively piece, Mr. Collier examines the basis of the Dixiecrat-Republican coalition in Congress.

IV. "THE CIVIL RIGHTS FIGHT IN CONGRESS," by *Clarence Mitchell*, Director, Washington Bureau, NAACP. No one has ever been closer to the fight to secure enactment of an adequate

civil rights program in Congress than Mr. Mitchell. Here, in full detail, is the complete story of the how, and the why, of the defeat of the civil rights program in recent sessions of the Congress.

V. "RECONSTRUCTION, NUMBER TWO," by *Lewis W. Jones*, Director of Research, Tuskegee Institute. An outstanding authority, Mr. Jones discusses the impact of recent socio-economic changes in the South as they affect Southern Negroes. "The economic emancipation of the Negro in the South may or may not have been anticipated as coming through the good offices of white-faced cattle and tractor-drawn farm machinery," writes Mr. Jones, "but these appear to have been the instruments most effective in releasing him from profitless hand-labor tasks and the share-cropper system."

VI. "THE NEGRO VOTE IN NATIONAL POLITICS," by *R. H. Brisbane*. A member of the faculty of Morehouse College, Atlanta, Georgia, Mr. Brisbane discusses the significance of the Negro vote in national politics.

VII. AN ARTICLE BY *LUCY RANDOLPH MASON*, of the C. I. O. Organizing Committee, on the impact of the labor movement on the social, economic, and political outlook of the Southern Negro. Miss Mason, who has been actively engaged in the effort to organize Southern labor, is the author of a book—*To Win These Rights*—which Harper's will publish early in October.

In addition, the issue will contain an article by Dr. Ira de A. Reid, a series of short reports from key areas in the South indicating the present temper of Southern Negro opinion, and a report on the long and heroic struggle of Southern Negroes to achieve the right to vote.

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